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Indonesia: A nation comes into its own
Even President Soekarno (r.) teaches to help wipe out illiteracy in the new republic which has just held its first nationwide election. See below for details.

A NEW REPUBLIC DECIDES

Indonesia votes neutralist; pro-Western party defeated

By Kumar Goshal

ON SEPT. 29, ten years after their declaration of independence and six years after they finally became free, Indonesians went to the polls to elect a national parliament on the basis of universal adult franchise.

Of 78 million Indonesians, 43 million were registered voters, of whom 34 million were expected to vote; they were to elect a 260-member parliament on a proportional representation basis.

Because of poor transportation facilities, voting will not be completed until Nov. 29. With two-thirds of the votes counted, the latest unofficial tally gave former Premier Ali Sastroamidjojo's Nationalist Party a good-sized lead with 32% of the vote; the Moslem Masjumi, 28%; the Orthodox Moslem Radicals, 27%; and the Communist Party, 24%.

The Nationalist Party follows a neutralist foreign policy, similar to the policy of India and Burma. Until recently, the Sastroamidjojo cabinet governed Indonesia with the support of the Communists and other smaller parties. The Masjumi, which led the opposition, is pro-West; it said it would expand capitalist investment if it came to power. The Orthodox Moslem Radicals broke off from Masjumi to support Indonesia's recognition of the U. S. S. R. and China. The incomplete voting results, however, have already forced the Masjumi to modify its stand to an "independent" foreign policy, in the hope of forming a coalition government with the Nationalists. Whether the Nationalists, if victorious, will work with the Communists or form a coalition with the Masjumi, remains to be seen.

2,000 ISLANDS: The elections were held under difficult circumstances. Voters often had to travel great distances to reach polling places in a sprawling country of 2,000 islands, of which Java is the most populous (52 million). Transportation is woefully inadequate and illiteracy widespread, although the government had done a remarkable job of reducing illiteracy from 93% under the Dutch to 75% in six years of freedom.

Parties and candidates, therefore, were represented by symbols. The bal-

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WAR & PEACE

Washington's gloom deep on eve of Geneva as press admits policy failure

By Tabitha Petran

TWO WEEKS BEFORE the Big Four Foreign Ministers Conference in Geneva, the Western powers faced turmoil in the Mediterranean from one end to the other. The basic factors were (1) a deep-rooted political crisis in France, only temporarily patched up by Parliament's approval of Premier Faure's Moroccan program; (2) ever more powerful anti-colonial movements challenging the very structure of the so-called "free world."

A sense of the failure of Washington's policy, of "increasing frustration over the manner in which Russia is winning her bloodless victories" (Doris Fleeson, N.Y. **Post**, 10/7), was beginning to penetrate even the U.S. press. It clearly reflected official Washington views. Educated Washington opinion finds "very little juice remaining in the foreign policy conceptions" initiated by Truman and Acheson and carried on by Eisenhower, Miss Fleeson wrote (10/3).

"Things could get so bad in Paris and North Africa," said **Business Week** (10/8) "that France would become more a protectorate of NATO than a partner." The West "could lose Germany to neutralism, if not worse," the **Wall St. Journal** (9/26) warned. "We could lose Europe by 'orderly evolution'" perhaps even more easily than "by cold war devices," wrote Joseph C. Harsch in an analysis of the post-Geneva world (**Christian Science Monitor,** 9/30-10/7). The consequences of Geneva "already have been startling and may be even more startling before we are finished with them," he said.

THE DAILY DOUBT: Official Western doctrine still clings to the policy of strength but, as Harsch noted:

> "There isn't a single one of these statesmen who does not entertain daily doubts about his public position and who does not recognize that time has already eroded these instruments of policy [NATO, etc.] left over from the pre-Geneva world and will continue to erode them as time passes."

There was no visible effort by Washington to search for alternative policies, no public debate, no retreat from rigidity. But Walter Lippmann (10/6) concluded from "an honest examination" of Geneva, "that Moscow has had the initiative and that it has taken formidable advantage of the military and political situation." He predicted:

> "We shall soon be asking ourselves what is wrong with our own policies . . . whether they have not remained frozen in the pre-Geneva mold and whether as a result we are not coming off second best in the diplomatic duel in Germany, in the

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CADILLAC CABINET INVOLVED

Gunfire at Indiana plant hints new anti-union era

By Elmer Bendiner

OFFICIALS of the strike-bound Perfect Circle Corp. of New Castle, Ind., in a telegram to Secy. of Labor Mitchell last week said that firearms

> ". . . to be used for protection were taken into the plant with the full knowledge of the local law enforcement agency."

On Oct. 5 those firearms wounded at least six striking members of the United Automobile Workers (CIO) in the bloodiest assault on unionists in recent years. The fact that the subtler devices of union busting had been abandoned for gunplay—and by a company closely linked to the Cadillac Cabinet in Washington—seemed to forecast grim labor battles to come.

Until Oct. 7, 1953, Lothair Teetor was chairman of the board of directors of Perfect Circle. On that day he was appointed asst. Secretary of Commerce and resigned as Perfect Circle chairman; but he remained a director and kept his stock in the business. Unlike Defense Secy. Wilson (who had to sell his General Motors stock) and former Air Secy. Talbott (who had to get rid of his aircraft holdings) Teetor was allowed to keep his share of authority and profits of his company along with his Washington job.

INDIRECT PISTONS: No "conflict of interest" existed, it was explained, because Perfect Circle, which makes piston rings, does not sell directly to the government. (Actually it sells to auto companies which in turn do business with government.) Thus Teetor was a public official and a Perfect Circle offi-

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THESE ARE NOT XMAS TOYS—THEY'RE REAL IN INDIANA
Natl. Guard Sherman tank patrolling the streets of New Castle

Let's go, team!

If your address-plate reads Oct. '55 or earlier, your subscription is in arrears and is due for renewal. To renew for 1 year mail address-plate with $3. Do it today.

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NATIONAL GUARDIAN 17 Murray St., New York 7, N. Y.

THE MAIL BAG

Youth protests

NEW YORK, N. Y.

Herewith copy of the letter I have sent to Gov. Hugh White of Mississippi:

"I was shocked and horrified at the decision in the case of Emmett Till. I believe that this is one of the most horrifying miscarriages of justice in American history. You are tightening tension between Negroes and whites in many ways and I hope many other law-abiding, half-way decent citizens are writing you as I am.

"You are letting two killers off, and who knows, they may kill again. I may be only 12, but when something like this occurs I can speak my mind. You had an all-white jury and your courtroom was segregated."

Chris Hamlin

Such a candle . . .

BROOKLYN, N. Y.

This is a copy of a letter I sent to Rep. Charles C. Diggs Jr. (D-Mich.):

May I tender to you my most respectful admiration, not alone for your high courage in attending what Mississippi is pleased to call a "trial," but for the important recommendations you made. Dr. T. R. Howard's Baltimore address and his expressed determination to remain in Mississippi lifts up the heart. We who are white residents in the north can scarcely conceive of the fortitude displayed by you, Dr. Howard, Mose Wright, young Reed and the other good, if unsung companions, whose staunchness placed them in mortal peril.

Destroying this boy of tender years, Mississippi, in terms of our hopes and dreams for our Negro fellow citizens, has "builded better than it knew." This monstrous crime has set the bell to tolling for the obsequies not alone of racist violence but of every form of racial discrimination wherever practised in our country.

A promise for America lies in the last words of Bishop Latimer, spoken to Bishop Ridley before they were burned at the stake:

> "Be of good comfort, Master Ridley and play the man. We shall this day light such a candle, by God's grace, in England, as I trust shall never be put out."

Mississippi has lighted more than a candle. She has ignited a funeral pyre but not—this time—for the burning of helpless Negroes. Its flames will rage until every vestige of racism is reduced to ashes and every Negro fellow citizen has come into his rightful heritage.

Muriel I. Symington

For excerpts from Dr. Howard's address, see p. 7. Ed.

Philatelicks

ERWIN, TENN.

Soon as I saw the new Atoms for Peace 3c stamp I undertook negotiations through my mailman to get some. But when he had consulted with that august public servant, the Postmaster, I could get only some cock-and-bull piffle about "the post office rules are such that we can only order stamps every six months" (although they were getting in all the nationalistic and warlike ones with battle-wagons, strutting generals with upraised swords, NATO propaganda and the like as fast as they are printed.)

But there was the good old GUARDIAN. They got me some from the N. Y. Post Office pronto. (Ha, ha to all the Peoples enemies and the enemies of Peace!)

Ernest Seeman

How Crazy Can You Get Dept.

With the improbability that President Eisenhower will run again the CIO-AFL unions have stepped up their drive to woo the farmers into their political camp. The result will be one of the most interesting aspects of the 1956 campaign. . .

The farmer is, to begin with, a capitalist himself if he owns his farm, as he usually does. Why should he join political hands with the laboring class, even if actually, in a physical sense, he be one himself?

—Yonkers (N. Y. Herald-Statesman (10/4).

One-year free sub to sender of each item printed under this heading. Winne this week, A. M., Yonkers, N. Y.

Ban bombs first

NO. HOLLYWOOD, CALIF.

The United States proposal for air inspection of all countries without prohibition of the atomic bombs reminds me of two opponents facing each other, with daggers upraised, and one of them extending his other hand to the other and saying, "Show me all your vital organs and let me examine exactly where they are, and where you are most vulnerable, and then, after I know how you can be destroyed most quickly, we will then talk about whether and how and if we will prohibit or destroy the daggers."

While the Soviet Premier listened to this inspection proposal with courtesy and a straight face the Supreme Soviet by their laughter treated it with the contempt that it deserved.

Even I am for inspection but, please, no inspection of all vital targets until or at the same time you do away with the atomic bomb.

A. S.

Ho to show

BELMONT, L. I.

A racehorse named Ho Chi Minh, imported from Chile, ran his first race in this country last month as a 20-1 shot and finished fourth. In his second time out, at Belmont track where he ran third this past week, the opening odds were listed at 15-1 but by post time the bettors had backed the odds down to 2½-1. Does this mean that the race track crowd has been infiltrated by agrarian reformers?

Martingale

For Marian Bachrach

GREENWICH, CONN.

One corner of the world that has not yet heard of the "spirit of Geneva" is certainly the Justice Dept., which continues its vindictive harassment of individuals. A particularly brutal instance is its attempt to bring Marian Bachrach to trial this fall under a Smith Act indictment.

Mrs. Bachrach was a defendant in the second New York Smith Act case in the summer of 1951, and was severed during the trial because she developed cancer and required immediate surgery. Since the operation she has been living quietly in New York City on a regime of enforced rest which is essential to her condition.

One might therefore expect that she could be spared the fatigue and peril of daily appearances in court which a trial entails. The Dept. of Justice apparently is determined otherwise.

Certainly Herbert Brownell will not enhance the tarnished reputation of the Dept. of Justice by putting a woman in Mrs. Bachrach's predicament on trial. I hope many GUARDIAN readers will join me in asking Atty. Gen. Brownell whether in the interests of ordinary humanity and common decency he won't leave Mrs. Bachrach in peace and sever her case in the forthcoming N. Y. Smith Act trials?

C. B. Baldwin

V. J. Jerome's birthday

NEW YORK, N. Y.

My husband, Victor J. Jerome, a Smith Act victim, spent his 59th birthday, Oct. 12, in Lewisburg Penitentiary. Since so many GUARDIAN readers have bought his novel, A Lantern for Jeremy, they might want to send him greetings, even if a little late. They may be delivered to him; but even if they are not, they will constitute a demonstration of the concern that exists for him outside. His address: Mr. V. J. Jerome, Box No. P. M. B. 21948, Lewisburg, Pa.

Alice Jerome

Calling all Franciscans

SAN FRANCISCO, CALIF.

Clothing in good condition, particularly children's clothing, toys, household wares and jewelry are in demand for a rummage sale planned by the S. F. Sobell Committee. The sale is set for Oct. 20, 21 and 22 at 1257 Webster St. For information on pickup and delivery call DElaware 3-6688.

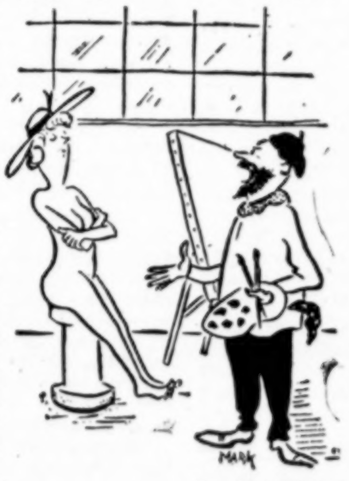
S. F. Sobell Committee
1122 Market Street, Rm. 216

Great Scott!

SEATTLE, WASH.

A Canadian nurse who works with my wife and has a son in service has been trying to become a citizen. She was recently turned down because years ago, when she came here, she admitted she once was a Technocrat.

Lyle Mercer



The Hat Worker

"I assure you, the union will have nothing against you if you take off your hat here."

Not so crazy?

LEVITTOWN, N. Y.

Your "How Crazy" (9/19) quotes Dr. Robert E. Lane of Yale as stating that ". . . an unsatisfactory private life is a necessary basis for intense political interests. . . . Put differently, one might say that political partisanship is an expression of unhappiness."

If Dr. Lane had said everything he did substituting only "religious fanaticism" for "political partisanship," everyone would find sense in his words. It is when the mirror is held up so that we can see ourselves that we react violently, placing sound words like these in the "How Crazy Can You Get" department.

Not meaning to be personal, I would make a reasoned guess that the finder of this item is, like almost every other intensely politically partisan friend I have, from or in an unhappy environment.

Would you prefer to call it coincidence? Return arguments welcome.

L. A.

Geneva in the schools

NEW YORK, N. Y.

Geneva has deeper roots than we think. The other day a classroom of 16-year-olds in a New York City high school was discussing the French walk-out from the UN on the Algerian issue. A Negro student asked the conservative teacher if she didn't agree that the French action was "childish." The teacher didn't think that was the way to describe it, but thought certainly that seven representatives in the French Parliament were insufficient for nine million people, and that they ought to have their own government, although it should be remembered that they were an ignorant people.

The original questioner said that ignorance was a result of having inferior schools and not enough of them, but he was sure that there were enough educated and intelligent Algerians to form a government of their own in any case. Whereupon a girl student said that there were intelligent peoples who had lots of doctors and lawyers and scientists who had very bad governments: the Russians, for example.

At which point the class almost unanimously turned on the last speaker and said in a tone of matter-of-fact surprise: "The Russians have a good government!"

Apparently Soviet peace efforts have made their impress upon the most miseducated generation this country has known, and apparently the past year's eyewitness reports, from Hearst Jr. to Sen. Malone, plus the farm delegations, have left a residue of knowledge of improving living standards, education and lack of discrimination. Another factor may be that the age group in question has only begun to think about world events at all in the last couple of years, i.e., since the end of the Korean War, so that it does not have the concept of the Russians as an active "enemy" given to their older brothers and sisters.

William Mandel

"Truly great . . ."

MOUNT VERNON, N. Y.

Congratulations on a truly great issue—that of Oct. 3. The pieces by Eugene Gordon, Carl Braden, Tabitha Petran, et al, are full of interesting and vital stuff. Burchett's article is a revelation, as is Goshal's summary of the Petrov case.

One objection, though—or rather a point of information. What are the issues on Cyprus Tabitha Petran describes at the end of the article entitled "War and Peace?"

Martin Abzug

We are sure reader Abzug got full clarification in the long article on Cyprus in the Oct. 10 GUARDIAN. Ed.

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REPORT TO READERS

Circulation: The ups outdo the downs

THE SIMPLE ARITHMETIC of that circulation figure of 33,847 which we printed last week is that it represents a net loss of 1,769 under last year's figure of 35,616.

This drop is traceable largely to reduced newsstand and bundles orders, especially to points overseas—two areas of circulation which we find it difficult to do much about, though we keep trying.

On the subscription side, we are glad to report that the trend is up—although the plus figures cover up some minuses which we think should not be there.

On the plus side, subscriptions increased in all but 18 states and Washington, D. C. The biggest gains were New York, 601; California, 353; Minnesota, 97; the biggest losses, Illinois, 103; Pennsylvania, 43; Oregon, 37; Massachusetts, 36.

The New York State gain was made in spite of a loss in Manhattan of 122 readers, while Brooklyn gained 396, Bronx 182, the rest of the state 145.

THE GAINS IN NEW YORK and California we know have occurred because of widespread sparkplugging by communities of readers—as in the Bay Area of California, the environs of Los Angeles and in many zones of New York City. Minnesota's gain (nearly 20%) is clearly because the Progressive Party has stayed in business there as the state's most active progressive force, and has incorporated the GUARDIAN into its political program.

Oregon's backslide of 11% was serious, but hardly more so than Pennsylvania, Massachusetts and Illinois, which each backslid about 5%. New Jersey and Michigan held up sturdily as states with large GUARDIAN readership, but we report with equal satisfaction that the uptrend showed itself significantly in Alabama, Arizona, Colorado, Florida, Georgia, Idaho, Indiana, Kansas, Louisiana, N. Carolina, N. Dakota, Washington and W. Virginia. Also in Canada, which jumped 25%.

THE MORAL: There is no circulation-builder like an enthusiastic, go-getting readership; and no substitute for personal effort—reaching out for that friend in the next block or in the next township who could, should and would read the GUARDIAN if introduced to it or reminded of it. It's open season and the weather has never been better. Go get 'em!

—THE GUARDIAN

ONE BIG P. S.: A heartfelt "Thank You" across the continent to the magnificent troupe that has just completed a successful run of eight performances of the Field Theatre revue **Ring That Bell**, which the GUARDIAN sponsored in Los Angeles. People came from as far away as San Diego to see the show. Our gratitude to the whole cast: Doris Hankerson, Irene Bassman, Ernie Lieberman, Al Hammer, George Foster, Howland Chamberlain, Ruth Sidney, Mary Lou Johnson, Priscilla Yablon. And to the production staff: Dan Lieberman (sound), Louis Yablon (lighting), Robin Willner (backstage), Saki (wardrobe), staging of musical numbers (Libby Burke).

And above all, thanks to our Tiba Willner, the GUARDIAN's representative in Los Angeles.

CEDRIC BELFRAGE WRITES FROM PARIS

The French crisis: Faure is failing, but after him...?

By Cedric Belfrage

MOROCCAN NATIONALISTS SURRENDER TO FRENCH AT IMMOUZIR

The guerrilla war goes on in Africa as unreality persists in Paris

PARIS, Oct. 8.

WHAT IS GOING TO HAPPEN in the French crisis? Paris is full of experts on the facts and statistics, the personalities and groups involved in the complex political and colonial drama. Most of them guessed wrong over the chances of Mendes-France—who continues to be the most talked-about political figure—to become Premier during the crisis over German rearmament; and now they are more cautious in making prophesies.

All that is generally admitted is that only a near-miracle could save the Faure government from falling; yet while Faure already indicates he will "fall toward the Left," as one pundit put it to me—exposing the sinister activities of the Rightists in his coalition—there seems no chance of a government even slightly further Left gaining power at this point.

THE BASIC PROBLEM: A government further to the Right could hardly gain power except through some sort of coup d'état. Among army generals there is known to be serious talk of such a coup, but it is difficult to see how it can be achieved. A "communist plot" could, of course, be "unmasked," but it would take a genius to convince more than a bourgeois minority of its reality. The mutinies by conscripts about to be sent to N. Africa, first in Paris and now in Rouen, show that the army rank-and-file was never less dependable than now for any such adventure.

The difficulty is not to get a parliamentary majority for the stated N. African policies of the Faure government, but to find a government which is willing and able to carry through any policy of compromise with N. African nationalists in face of the determination of the "ultra-colonialists" to sabotage such policies.

THE CONTRADICTIONS: What one sees in France is a picture of a weak imperialist regime becoming hopelessly entangled in its own internal contradictions:

- **The call-up.** With a grave military situation in N. Africa and half of the French army already there, conscripts who had already completed their service are being called back, in addition to the new conscripts who are being told to report directly to N. Africa and start fighting—and dying—after just a few weeks of basic training. This has caused the most profound unrest throughout France, particularly since there is no enthusiasm whatever for the N. African war. Families forced to continue indefinitely living on totally inadequate separation allowances become desperate, and there is a chain-reaction of dislocations in civil life.

- **The cost.** The government has put the monthly cost of its N. African military operations at 10 billion francs, but actually it is more like 25 billion—and no help toward this is coming from the U. S. as it did in Indo-China. Result: the whole French economy, already more or less bankrupt, is deeply shaken.

- **Relations with the U. S.** Washington clearly showed its lack of enthusiasm for French N. African policies by not using its influence more strongly to keep Algeria off the UN agenda. The U. S. is concerned to build up its N. African bases, but France is worried that these ultra-modern installations (contrasting with its own shabby, underpaid, moraleless army) are forming "a dangerous pole of attraction" for N. African nationalists impressed by real power. The Paris **N. Y. Herald Tribune** complains that owing to continued delays in Franco-U. S. negotiations over the number of men to be stationed at U. S. bases, there are still only two men on the new $30-million base at Boulhault, Morocco, which has a gleaming, hygienic mess-hall for 500.

- **Spain.** France is even more worried about the game being played by Franco Spain. That Moroccan nationalist forces are taking shelter in, and attacking from, Spanish Morocco and firing Spanish-made ammunition has been confirmed by Gen. de Latour in French Morocco. De Latour warned Spanish authorities not to "play with fire," which could have as grave results for them as for the French imposers of white supremacy.

WORKING-CLASS UNITY: There is no sign of any French government strong enough to master these problems. No matter what happens, France has lost the game in N. Africa and—even from a colonialist standpoint—its sons can only die there uselessly.

Most of the French people know this. Meanwhile the working class is achieving more and more unity—as the series of metal-workers' strikes have shown—in the struggle for economic justice against the "last ditch" Bourbons who, at home just as in the colonies, learn nothing and forget everything.

Until not long ago, the impending fall of a government brought Frenchmen out into the streets discussing the prospects in excited groups around newspaper kiosks. Today, after so many changes from one unrepresentative government to another, the impression is that they could not care less.

War & peace

(Continued from Page 1)

Middle East, and the Mediterranean."

DEEP FREEZE DEPT.: Lippmann held that "the Western position is inferior" because, in contrast to Soviet flexibility, Western policies are "frozen by rigid and highly emotional commitments." But after eleven weeks (since Geneva) of "one of the most successful periods Russian diplomacy has known since the end of the war" (**N. Y. Times**, 10/9), Western statesmen were apparently being forced to revise their tactics for the coming Geneva conference.

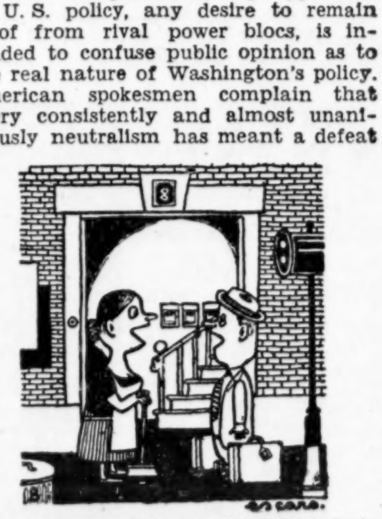
Since the decision to establish Moscow-Bonn diplomatic relations, less has been heard of the "acid tests" the U. S. S. R. must pass, the ultimatums to which it must bow to get the West to relax the cold war. A major reason is what the N. Y. **Herald Tribune** (10/9) called Washington's "gnawing fear" that it can no longer trust W. German "toughness" toward the U. S. S. R. (In Bremen State elections, Oct. 9, in which W. Germany's alliance with the West was an issue, the Socialists won an overwhelming victory over Adenauer's Christian Democrats.)

Hence, there will be "no ambitious effort at Geneva to get a breakthrough on the problem of German unity and European security," reported **CSM** (10/1). The Western line will be "to maintain the status quo." The pace of change since last July, explained Harsch,

> ". . . has left the policymakers of the West breathless. [Their] immediate desire . . . is to put a brake on change and secure something of a respite. . . . The present plan is to ride through the Foreign Ministers meeting . . . with as little disturbance to the present shape of things as possible."

A NEW DIRTY WORD: In this situation, President Eisenhower's illness is viewed by some as an advantage since it provides a pretext for stalling. Yet the processes of change, the blurring of the sharp East-West division, the development of new ralationships, cannot easily be postponed. The shift of the world balance of power in favor of the socialist states has unleashed forces which are now breaking through the political and military instruments forged by the Western powers, in the name of the cold war, to hold them back. The process is apparent in almost every area of the so-called "free world," and takes the shape chiefly of what Washington calls "neutralism" and anti-colonialism.

The application of the word "neutralism" to any movement aimed at national independence, any opposition to U. S. policy, any desire to remain aloof from rival power blocs, is intended to confuse public opinion as to the real nature of Washington's policy. American spokesmen complain that "very consistently and almost unanimously neutralism has meant a defeat for the West and a victory for the Soviet Union." Such phraseology tends to conceal a fundamental difference between U. S. and Soviet policy: the former is based on subordinating national interests of other states to its policy; the latter on non-interference with national interests and independence.



Escaro in Liberation, Paris

And Rene? In Algeria . . .
And Andre? In Morocco . . .
And Joseph? In Tunisia . . .
Where's Jules? Not yet allocated

SITUATION IN GREECE: The **CSM** (9/30) spoke of "a strong neutralist trend" in Greece and, to a lesser extent, in Egypt. The trend in Greece grows out of conditions created by the American protectorate established there in 1947. Greece's economic situation is worsening, prices are rising, the government of Marshal Papagos (who died earlier this month) did nothing to alleviate the miserable conditions of the people. "A wave of anger [is] steadily gathering momentum as social and national disappointment become steadily more intense," reported **CSM** (10/5). The political crisis created by Papagos' death has, for the moment, apparently been weathered. Popular anger, however, is unlikely to abate short of some real effort to solve economic problems and the question of self-determination for Cyprus. King Paul's recent visit to Marshal Tito in Yugoslavia has reportedly created a basis for friendlier relations between the two countries. In the new international atmosphere Greece may eventually find its way to independence.

ARMS & MIDDLE EAST: The fury of Western statesmen over the sale of arms by the socialist world to Egypt—and possibly other Middle East states—reflects their frustration that these countries are breaking the leash. Egypt's exercise of its sovereign right to buy arms on commercial terms wherever it can does, as London's **New Statesman** (10/8) pointed out, "make recent Western strategy in the Middle East look very silly," and has obviously alarmed the West. These Middle East states, however, seem interested less in peaceful coexistence than in strengthening thier bargaining position with the West.

THE UN APPLICANTS: The moderate successes scored by the anti-colonial powers in the UN's 10th session caused the **NYT** (10/6) to note that "the whole composition of UN has become lopsided." If, as is expected, agreement is reached at this session on admission of new members, this "lopsidedness" will increase. Twenty-two countries have applied for admission; the U. S. S. R. has proposed admission of 16; pressure is being put on Washington to agree to a "package deal" admitting socialist as well as Washington-approved applicants.

Washington's reluctance is due to the fact that any substantial increase in UN membership will threaten "the American veto" in the Assembly: its ability to muster 20 Latin American votes plus one, enough to block major decisions which require a ⅔ majority. In a bigger UN the Latin American bloc would carry less weight.

DISARMAMENT: The new strength of the anti-colonial and neutral nations at UN is also working to undermine U. S. strategy on the issues of atoms-for-peace and disarmament. India's opposition to the U. S. plan for the atoms-for-peace agency means that the U. S. cannot put the U. S. S. R. "on the spot" if it refuses to go along with the U. S. plan. (India wants an agency really tied to UN and one which will prevent colonial exploitation of atomic energy.)

Similarly, the U.S. strategy to rouse world opinion against the U. S. S. R., if it does not accept the President's mutual inspection plan and agree to scrapping disarmament and banning nuclear weapons, has foundered. The reason is that many other countries share the Soviet view that the effort to achieve disarmament and outlaw nuclear weapons must be continued.

Gunfire at Indiana

(Continued from Page 1)

cial on July 25, when the UAW struck the company's plants in New Castle, and in nearby Hagerstown and Richmond, involving 1,200 workers.

The union demanded what it had won from the auto companies: a union shop; company fund to supplement unemployment insurance for laid-off workers, and a 22c hourly raise to match that given by other piston ring manufacturers. Perfect Circle offered only 10c an hour and balked at all other demands.

In mid-September the company got an injunction limiting picket lines to five at each gate. When strikers massed, 55 were arrested on "riot" charges. In another union-busting maneuver strike-breakers petitioned the NLRB for de-certification elections.

A FIRE IS BUILT: Anti-labor forces in the community were clearly looking for a show-down. The Indiana Chamber of Commerce charged that official refusal to "protect property" in labor disputes was discouraging investments. On Oct. 4 35 strikers received dismissal notices for "improper conduct." Among those fired were the local's president, financial secy. and its former president.

New Castle Mayor Paul McCormack said the firings "seemed to build a fire" under the tension. On the night of Oct. 4 the union demonstrated with a motorcade of 300 cars circling the plant. Many unionists who joined the demonstration came from auto plants in the area.

It was raining in New Castle on Wednesday morning, Oct. 5, when some 5,000 unionists, seeing the Perfect Circle formula of strike-breaking as a threat to their rights, demonstrated at the plant gates against the firings. The **AP** reported that "most of the city police, headed by Clarence Justice, was inside the plant. . . ."

THE COPS SHOOT: As the workers massed below the foundry, rifle, pistol and shot-gun fire broke out and six unionists fell wounded. An on-the-spot reporter for the Indianapolis **News** (10/5) said bluntly that "city police fired from inside the factory."

UAW intl. rep. William F. Caldwell, charging that the company had flown in guns and bedding to the strikebreakers, said:

> "Company representatives shot at pickets first. After these initial shots, the demonstrators went home for guns and came back."

For two hours bottles, rocks and bullets flew in the foundry yard. A house used as headquarters for plant guards went up in flames as unionists shouted: "Let it burn."

Lt. Gov. Harold W. Handley climbed on a cartop in the driving rain and urged the workers to disperse. A man from the crowd shouted:

> "When are you going to take the guns from the other side?"
>
> "The state police will take them away," Handley said. The unionist answered:
>
> "It's too late. They've already shot eight of our men."

ARSENAL REMOVED: The demonstrators held their ground until UAW intl. rep. Moses Kucela climbed up alongside Handley and told them:

> "I think we've accomplished what we wanted to. The plant is down. If the City Fathers permit these scabs to come back with shotguns, then we'll come back."

As the crowd broke up state police evacuated the plant and closed it down. Officials said they took from the strikebreakers 29 rifles, nine pistols, 30 clubs, 700 rounds of ammunition—an arsenal big enough to "fill four tabletops." The casualties: six unionists and three strikebreakers in the hospital with bullet wounds. Only one seriously wounded was a striker.

While the battle raged Indiana Gov. George N. Craig was fishing off the Bahamas. His secy. Horace M. Coats said he reached him by telephone and received orders to call out the National Guard. The state was thrown into confusion as Handley threatened to countermand the order. Handley said he told Coats:

> "Do you mean to say you are going to alarm the city by having troops rumbling through the streets in the middle of the night? Why can't this wait another 10 or 12 hours and maybe the troops won't be needed?"

Handley claimed his "efforts were overruled by the Governor who is 1,000 miles away and is not in touch with conditions as I am."

Both Handley and Craig are Republicans but for a long time have been feuding. Handley was plainly seeking to ingratiate himself with labor. Craig is a close friend of Lothair Teetor and his summoning the troops was generally thought to have been inspired by Teetor.

SOUTHERN CRUISE: Teetor, himself, as hostilities in his plant broke out, was in conference with his boss, Commerce Secy. Weeks. Weeks announced that Teetor was resigning as of Nov. 30. He said Teetor was not being fired and added: "We are extremely sorry to see him go."

Questioned by the N. Y. **Post** on Teetor's connctions with Perfect Circle, Weeks said:

> "It's a family corporation. I can't answer specifically if he has stock in it or not. He is still a member of the board of directors. He's a director of the firm. His cousins run it for him. It may be a partnership."

One of Teetor's staff said his luggage was being loaded on a yacht for a trip south.

OMINOUS SIGNS: In New Castle meanwhile two 40-ton M-47 tanks stood at the Perfect Circle gates. Armed infantrymen patrolled the streets and manned roadblocks where cars entering the town were searched. Taverns were shut down and a 9 p.m. curfew was in effect. The city of 20,000 live in effect under military occupation. The Mayor called it a "limited emergency." There were rumblings of more violence to come as Perfect Circle attorney Clyde Hoffman, summoned to a Mayor's peace conference, said: "We are just not in a position to close that plant."

Hoffman said "non-strikers" were "insisting" on reopening the plant. UAW's William Caldwell told the conference that if strike-breakers go to work again "thousands of Indiana unionists" would be ready to march:

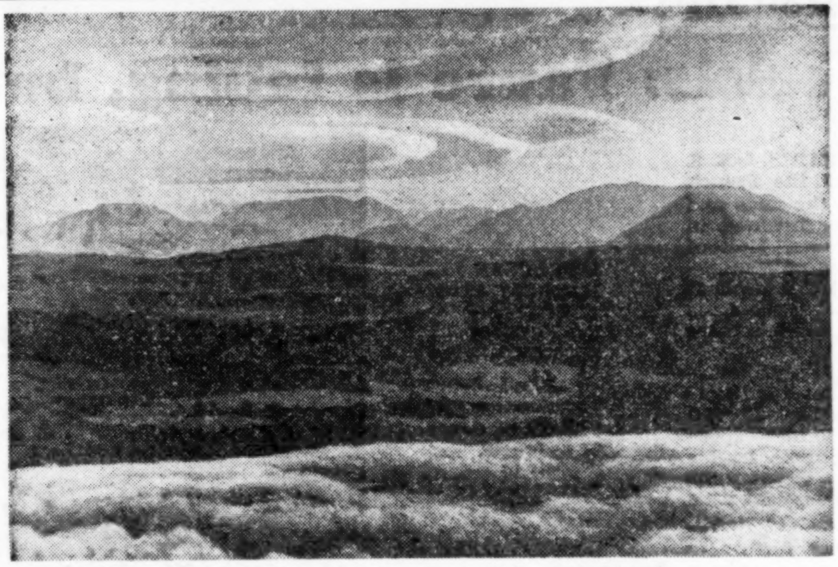
> "If they try to open the plant for production after shooting these people, your guess is as good as mine as to what might happen."

OTHER PLANTS ARMED: The menace was heightened with the admission by company officials that arms were being stored in the Hagerstown plant, which continues to be worked by strikebreakers.

CIO Pres. Walter Reuther, calling for investigations by Gov. Craig and Labor Secy. Mitchell, said:

> "Representatives of the Perfect Circle Co. opened fire on UAW-CIO members. . . . Some of those who did the shooting were recognized as Perfect Circle supervisory employes and can be identified by witnesses."

On Oct. 10 Gov. Craig returned to Indianapolis and imposed "full martial law" which would protect strikebreakers at work.



Would you like to own this painting?

Rockwell Kent, who painted the Adirondack landscape above, wanted to go to Ireland to carry on his work. The State Dept. refused him a passport "to travel anywhere for any purpose." The reason: Kent is an outspoken peace advocate, attended the Stockholm Peace Congress, is a notable rebel in politics as in art. In connection with his fight for a passport, now taken to the courts by the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee, there will be an exhibit of Rockwell Kent's work Oct. 17-30 at the Art of Today Galleries, Great Northern Hotel, 118 W. 57th St. N. Y. C. The works may be viewed daily 1-9 p.m., tickets $1. A door prize of a $2,000 Rockwell Kent painting will be awarded to a lucky ticket-holder at a reception for Kent at the Galleries Oct. 30, 3-5 p.m.

TILL MURDER AFTERMATH

Rep. Diggs pushes bills to bar seats in Congress to Mississippi representatives

REP. CHARLES C. DIGGS JR. (D-Mich.) believes the Mississippi terror against half its population is part of a plan "to keep Negroes from voting long enough to chase them out of the state, thereby stalling integration." Diggs was an on-the-spot observer of the five-day Tallahatchie County, Miss., lynch trial.

In a personally-written story for the Pittsburgh **Courier** (10/8) the Detroit Negro Congressman said that he is

> ". . . firmly against any mass migration by Negroes in the South, because, if they leave Mississippi, Alabama, Georgia and S. Carolina, they will be helping Dixie diehards in their fight to retain segregation and discrimination."

He said he would fight in the next Congress for passage of bills which he has already introduced to "strengthen the right of the Dept. of Justice to intervene in cases where civil rights are threatened." He said:

> "I also intend to challenge the seating of every Congressman from Mississippi on the grounds that they actually are representing only half of the citizens of their state. My argument in this action is supported by Amendment 14, Sec. 2, of the Constitution."

PRESSURE IS NEEDED: Mr. Diggs said that Negro voters "must put pressure on both parties in regard to civil rights platforms." The time has passed, he said, for Negroes "to support politicians who grin at us in Michigan, New York and California and slam the door in our faces in Mississippi." He urged Negro voters throughout the U.S. to "aim their ballots at erasing second-class citizenship in America" for everybody.

The Congressman, answering questions as to why he went to the trial, said that he first visited Mississippi last April. He found

> ". . . Negroes who had been brutally beaten, Negroes against whom threats of violence had been made . . . living under a virtual reign of terror.'"

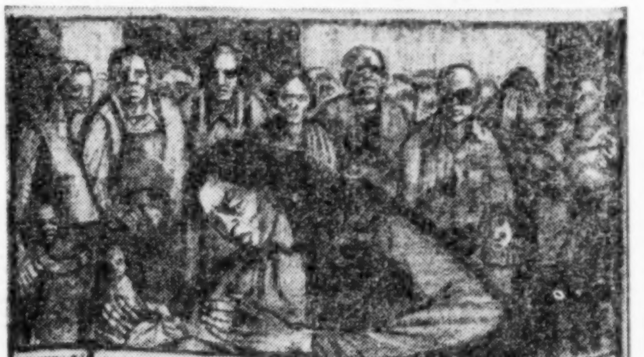
He said the atmosphere was so charged that, when he returned to Washington, he asked the Justice Dept. to "intervene and bring a stop to Mississippi's rape of civil rights." There has been "no response in action." He went on:

> "I went to Mississippi because, although I was elected a representative of the 13th Dist. of Michigan, I sincerely feel that the responsibility which I accepted in being sworn in was to serve the best interests of all the people of the U.S. I went because the danger that democratic principles face in that state is a risk to our nation's principle of freedom. Detroit, Mich., Hartford, Conn., Chicago, Ill., Macon, Ga., Chattanooga, Tenn., and every other city and state within this country, must surely be affected by what goes on in Mississippi."

THEY FELT BETTER: His going, he said, gave "moral support to the abused and intimidated Negro citizenry of that community" and to Negro reporters and photographers. He was "gratified at the evidence of security which flooded the faces of Negro reporters and spectators in the audience" when he and his companions entered the court room:

> "Because here was a Negro Congressman, a representative in the Federal government—one of their own—and he was on the scene with them. Negroes felt more confident of their safety. As many will attest, there was a reaction on the other side. The traditional Southern fear of any one representing the Federal government had its subduing effect and helped ease the tension."

PROTEST



This drawing by Marvin Grayson, California artist, has been reproduced on a post card, 5 x 7 inches, by the Florence FEPC, 823 E. 94th St., Los Angeles, Calif. It may be addressed on the reverse side and sent in protest against the perversion of justice in the Till lynching trial in Mississippi to the White House and to Atty. Gen. Brownell. It depicts Mrs. Bradley kneeling over the coffin of her murdered son. The other side carries a message asking Federal authorities to "protect the lives, jobs and voting rights" of the Negro people. Individuals or organizations may obtain the card in quantity by writing to J. B. Thomas, at the address above.

IN THE McCARTHY BACKWASH

First Amendment gets test in O'Connor contempt trial

ARTICLE I OF THE BILL OF RIGHTS is written in such simple and direct words as to seem impossible of distortion:

> "Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; or abridging the freedom of speech or of the press; or the right of the people peaceably to assemble and to petition the government for a redress of grievances."

But simple as it is, men have gone to jail for invoking the First Amendment's protection to think and speak as they please. The Supreme Court has never affirmed that the First means what it says. Now the issue is again before a Federal court for decision.

FREE-WHEELER: In July of 1953 Sen. McCarthy called before him Harvey O'Connor, an old-style, free-wheeling American who has always stood on his right to think, speak and write as he likes. He has been a caustic critic of America's rich kids in his books on Mellon, the Astors and the Guggenheims. He also worked as a labor journalist and in 1950 published the official history of the CIO oil workers' union.

McCarthy had discovered that some of O'Connor's books were in U. S. libraries overseas and demanded of the author whether, when he wrote them, he was a "member of the Communist conspiracy." Said O'Connor:

> "Under the First Amendment to the Constitution my writings, my books, and my political beliefs are of no legitimate concern to this committee. If I have violated any laws in the writings I have written, that is a proper concern for the law-enforcement agencies and not the proper concern of this committee."

SERVANTS OR MASTERS: McCarthy coaxed O'Connor to plead the Fifth Amendment, but the author said:

> "I am not asserting the privilege against self-incrimination."

He was cited for contempt, and on Oct. 4 he went on trial before Federal Judge Joseph R. McGarraghy in Washington, D. C. He was defended by Leonard Boudin and Gerhard Van Arkel, but he was his own best witness. He told the court:

> "I had been reading in the press, with growing concern, the operations of the Senate Permanent Subcommittee on Investigations. When I was asked about my political beliefs and associations, I declined to answer. The question invades the privacy of the citizen. The citizen may well inquire into the political beliefs and associations of an elected official or candidate. But when the elected official presumes to inquire into the political beliefs and associations of private citizens, the whole base of democracy is subverted. The public servant has made himself into the public master—a totalitarian concept.
>
> "An author has no special immunities but he has a peculiar responsibility to assert the principle of the freedom of the press. If I had violated any law in my writings, I was responsible to the law enforcement agencies and not to a Congressional Committee. I placed these objections in the record."

NO $64 QUESTION: Since the beginning of the case O'Connor has freely told newsmen and others—outside a hearing room or a court—that he is not and never has been a member of the Communist Party. At his trial U. S. prosecutor William Hitz asked if he "would now object to answering the question." Said O'Connor:

> "I took my stand before the committee on principle, and I would like to take my stand on principle here. Nevertheless I realize that I am in a court of law. I will answer the question if the court directs."

Said Judge McGarraghy: "You do not need to answer the question." Then turning to the prosecutor he said: "It is not relevant."

Sole witness against O'Connor was McCarthy himself, but he made a poor appearance. **Labor's Daily** headlined the story: "Joe McCarthy Fumbles As O'Connor Trial Witness." When asked his occupation, he stammered before he could answer that he is still a U. S. Senator.

IF JOE WERE BOSS: Under questioning by defense attorney Van Arkel, McCarthy gave some of his views on political censorship. The exchange went like this:

Q. Should this country spread abroad books attacking prominent American figures?

A. Certainly not.

Q. How about the books by Mr. John T. Flynn attacking President Roosevelt?

A. Well that's all right, because I have a great respect for Mr. John T. Flynn.

Q. How about books which attack President Roosevelt as being responsible for Pearl Harbor?

A. Well, I believe that, so that's all right.

Judge McGarraghy took under advisement a defense motion for a verdict of acquittal. Oct. 24 was set as a deadline for the filing of briefs by both sides.

Mr. Smith goes to Moscow

Carleton Smith (l.) of the American Natl. Arts Foundation is in Russia seeking, with singularly little help from the State Dept., to improve cultural exchanges between the two countries. Above. he is shown backstage at the Bolshoi Theater, speaking with Ivan Petrov, whom he had just heard sing the title role in the opera "Boris Goudonov." Smith called him one of the "greatest living bassos" and invited him to America. O.K. with him, said Petrov; but we'll have to see how our tone-deaf State Dept. feels. Last week in New York Soviet pianist Emil Gilels got such an ovation at Carnegie Hall that the management had to put the hall lights on to get the folks to go home.

Oh, THAT dead issue!

More than 500 members of National Selected Morticians from every State will begin their four-day annual convention here Tuesday.

One of the highlights of the convention will be an address by Capt. William Mott, USN, chief international law officer of the Navy. He will speak on "Negotiating with the Reds." —Los Angeles Mirror-News, 9/23.

KUBITSCHEK AND JANGO GOULART WIN

Election in Brazil a popular victory

NEXT JANUARY 31 Dr. Juscelino Kubitschek will take office as president of Brazil and Joao (Jango) Goulart as vice-president—if the people's mandate is not washed out in a military coup.

The generals, admirals and **entregistas**—those businessmen who would turn over Brazil's resources to foreign capital—rumbled ominously as Brazilians went to the polls on Oct. 3. The mildest threat from the military was that they would let Kubitschek take office but never Jango Goulart, the political heir of the late Pres. Getulio Vargas.

Disregarding the gun at their heads, more than ten million Brazilians cast their ballots. By the end of the first week of counting all parties were conceding the victory of Kubitschek and Goulart. The candidate of the generals, Maj. Gen. Juarez Tavora, was running second. Adhemar de Barros, who employed his huge fortune and a reputation as a "safe" candidate who could promise reforms without stirring a coup against him, did better than expected at cutting down the Kubitschek plurality, but still ran third. Plinio Salgado, one-time head of the avowedly pro-Nazi Integralistas, was running a very poor fourth.

THE PEOPLE REMEMBER: In an interview with Rio de Janeiro's **Diario Carioca** Dr. Kubitschek said his victory demonstrated that "the Brazilian people are still voting for the laborite measures of President Vargas."

Undoubtedly Getulio's ghost was Kubitschek's best campaigner. In the year since Vargas committed suicide, his betrayals and demagogy have tended to fade in people's minds. What remained were the gains scored during his administration—wage raises, the beginnings of national ownership of oil and electric power facilities. The people also remembered Getulio's enemies, the generals and the backers of the big oil give-away who drove Vargas to suicide and made him a martyr.

JUSCELINO KUBITSCHEK

The ghost of Getulio was there

Dr. Kubitschek, a physician and son of a Polish immigrant, was the standard bearer of the Social Democratic Party. To his standard rallied Vargas' Labor Party and their candidate Jango Goulart, and the illegal but powerful Communist Party. The lines were clearly drawn between those who stood for a continued dependence on the United States and those willing to fight for economic independence. When the trend in the tally became clear the N. Y. **Herald Tribune** (10/8) headed its story: "VICTORY OF KUBITSCHEK IN BRAZIL TROUBLES U. S."

Underlying one of the economic crises Brazil will face—its steadily contracting foreign trade and its increasing dependence on the U. S.—Kubitschek announced that before he takes office he will go on a world tour that will include Poland, Czechoslovakia and perhaps other socialist countries as well as the U. S.

THREAT REMAINS: How far Kubitschek will go depends on how his coalition hangs together. In it are the vacillating elements of his own Social Democratic Party and the pie-cards in the Labor Party machine bequeathed by Vargas, as well as the militant laborites and Communists. Kubitschek himself has no record as an independence fighter; he won the support of the left only by accepting Goulart on his ticket.

If the coalition holds fast Kubitschek may find himself forced to accept the banners of the most progressive coalition to take shape in Latin America in decades. He may have to continue to shout with his followers: **"O petroleo e nosso.**—The oil is ours."

The military threat may have been emphasized as a campaign maneuver. Rarely has any group of conspirators so telegraphed its punch. The generals may wait to see whether Kubitschek can be bribed or persuaded to their cause and whether the coalition splits. Minister of War Gen. Henrique Teixerra Lott let it be known after Kubitschek's victory was assured, that he would stand by the elections. A cabinet crisis, precipitated by the resignation of Gen. Tavora's partisans was smoothed over and they remained in office, thus quieting fears of governmental chaos that could provide the military with an excuse to take over. The threat of a coup remains but it is likely to come only as a last resort.

WASHINGTON WORRY: The election returns were watched closely in Washington which is plainly worried by the working-class trend in the big ABC of Latin America: Argentina, Brazil and Chile. The Washington correspondent of the French weekly, **Tribune des Nations,** reported that the Argentine development cut both ways. As delighted as Washington might be in the new Lonardi government there, the paper reported, Peron will be missed because he "knowingly or unknowingly performed a great service to U. S. policy" by keeping the working-class from a leftward swing.

Without Peron the Peronista workers may well go left. Chilean workers seem to have fought a pro-U. S. right-wing government to a virtual stand-still. The Brazilian victory of a ticket indebted to a left-wing workers coalition with a platform of independence was the last straw. **Tribune des Nations** reported:

> "At the moment Washington is considering calling a pan-American conference in Lima to confer with those Latin-American rulers who might seek to prevent general repercussions throughout Latin America of a mass anti-fascist movement in the three ABC republics."

THE BATTLE IS ON: THE NEW SOUTH VS. THE OLD

The attack on 'The Southerner,' Don West and Church of God

By Lawrence Emery

WHITFIELD COUNTY, GA., tucked away in the northwestern corner of the state, is highly industrialized; more than half the county population works in mills and factories, mostly textile. Yet on every score listed by the U.S. Census Bureau—such as family income, education, housing—the county ranks well below the average for the South as a whole. Even the median age is lower; people in Whitfield County die younger than elsewhere in the South. The Negro population of the county is small, only 4.1% of the total: the statistics apply to poor white Southern industrial workers.

Dalton, largest city in the county, has two distinctions: it is the world capital for the manufacture of chenille, mostly in the form of rugs (the town boasts some 30 plants employing about 12,000 workers); it is also the general headquarters for the Church of God of the Union Assembly.

CHARLIE PRATT: The Church is unique. Its creed is simple: love, mercy, justice, freedom and plain neighborly mutual help. It is headed by Rev. C. T. Pratt, now 75, who is affectionately known as Preacher Pratt, or just Charlie. Southern-born and bred, he has spent his life with the poor folks of his land. His Church believes in and practices racial equality, and it is militantly in favor of trade unionism. In his time he has been vilified and persecuted but he has never changed his ways.

Back in 1921 his Church owned about a half-acre of land and a small box building. Today the Church of God is scattered over eight Southern and border states and owns extensive property, all of it paid for. Services are simple and informal, with plenty of singing, and are well-attended by whole family groups, including the babies; midweek evening services in Dalton itself usually attract upwards of 2,000 members.

DON WEST: Early this year the Church of God acquired a new lay preacher: Don West, known to many **GUARDIAN** readers for his long and effective championship of progressive causes in the South and for his poems (**Clods of Southern Earth** and **The Road Is Rocky**).

Working as a team, the Revs. Pratt and West in March this year founded a monthly paper, **The Southerner.** The GUARDIAN (May 2, 1955) welcomed its appearance and quoted from its statement of policy:

> "Our job . . . will be to bring out, to push forward, that other South—the South of the progressive tradition, the South of the common people. . . . Our policy is based on and guided by love for truth and people. We believe that a potentially powerful and potent force for saving the American ideal lies with the common poor white man of the South. With him, and this cause, we identify ourselves. With this spirit we seek to go forward toward a new South and a greater America."

NEW VS. THE OLD: Last week the Church of God and its paper were in the middle of a hot battle for the new South against the forces of the Old South.

In Dalton only two mills are organized by the CIO Textile Workers Union of America—Crown Cotton and American Thread; their workers receive the highest wages in town. The unorganized chenille workers have a starting wage of about 80c an hour; many get no more than the legal 75c minimum

Early this year the TWUA began an organizing drive in the chenille industry, sent in some of their best Southern organizers. **The Southerner,** while disavowing any connection whatever with any labor or political organization, threw everything it had into the organizing campaign. When six workers of the General Latex and Chemical Corp. were fired for union activity, the paper backed them to the hilt. Then its troubles began.

PUZZLE: FIND THE "BOMB" CRATER WITH THE NAKED EYE

This was the "explosion" on lawn of plant manager's home

SMEAR JOB: The Dalton **News & Citizen** ("Devoted to the Interests of Industrial Whitfield County") undertook a series of articles, stretching over weeks, puporting to show that the Rev. Don West is a subversive character. The Oct. 2 issue offers a fair sample of the "proof"; a page one headline announced that "**Last Nov., West spoke at N.Y. Meeting Co-Sponsored by Communist 'Cooperative.'**" West had indeed spoken in New York, under the joint auspices of the Methodist Fedn. for Social Action and the Southern Agricultural Workers Organizing Committee. The Dalton **News** story said:

> "The night's program was given advance publicity in the **National Guardian,** of which Cedric Belfrage was editor (now deported). Belfrage's paper, published weekly in New York, gave a warm welcome to **The Southerner** when it began publication. . . .
>
> "On the same page which promoted West's appearance, the **Guardian** also carried in advertisement form a notice about a rally for peace in observance of 21 years of American-Soviet relations and on the 37th anniversary of the Soviet Union. One of the speakers for that meeting was listed as Paul Robeson."

HARRY KOGER: On an inside page, in a three-column display layout, was an item titled: "Information From the Files of the Committee on Un-American Activities on Harry Koger." Koger, incidentally, is also known to many GUARDIAN readers for his years of activity organizing Southern agricultural workers. But the connection with West? The Dalton **News** explained: "One of West's books of poems was dedicated to Koger and to his wife."

The same issue of the **News** front-paged another story: "Violence Flares in Strike; Auto Stoned and Explosion Occurs on Manager's Lawn." On the auto-stoning, the paper was vague; there were no witnesses and no action was taken. A photograph of the lawn explosion showed less than a square foot of grass and sod disturbed; the "charge that rocked the neighborhood" couldn't have been caused by anything bigger than a small fire-cracker.

MAN AND MILL: But the **News** series attacking West served a purpose; they were clipped and posted on mill bulletin boards; the Patcraft Corp. accompanied them with this:

> "Notice to the people of this mill. This is the man who wants to organize the tufted textile industry. Do you want a man that stands accused of being a communist to tell you how to work? We are free Amricans. Let's stay that way. We don't need a union. Let's work and work hard to stay as we are. Think of the man you are working for. And keep up with all the articles in your local papers about this man."

Meanwhile the mills were taking action of their own. New job forms were circulated among the workers, including the question: "What is your church affiliation?" Those who wrote "Church of God" were promptly fired. By early this month 28 had been dismissed from one mill, 23 from another and five from a third; the process is expected to continue. The Religious Freedom Committee (New York) has protested this "interference with the fundamental right of every individual to hold whatever faith he wishes and to support the religious organization of his choice."

A PHONY ISSUE: In Washington John W. Edelman, TWUA's legislative representative, called on Sen. Thomas C. Hennings Jr., chairman of the Subcommittee on Constitutional Liberties, to investigate; the Senator wrote the Dalton mills for further information, got no reply. Edelman later told an overflow union rally in Dalton:

> "The danger to America is low wages, bad working conditions and companies that discriminate against workers for church or union membership. The danger to America is that, and not communism. These people are exploiting the fear of communism, using communism as a bogey-man to confuse you and get your minds off of the real issue."

The Southerner is fighting vigorously for the reinstatement of Church of God members, but meanwhile takes this view of the matter:

> "These workers who have been fired have not remained idle. They are working harder than ever to sign up new members into the union. Since they don't have to work in the mill they have full time to give to organizational activity. This company tactic of firing workers for union activity will backfire. It gives the union a larger organizing force and when the fight is won those workers will doubtless be put back to work with back pay. So, actually, the companies are helping to pay union organizers to do the job for the union."

NEWSPAPER ATTACKED: But it seems that Dalton, Ga., may have to suffer through the classic pattern of violence and persecution before the chenille industry is organized. The series of articles attacking West has already incited a first act of vandalism; **The Southerner** for October reports:

> "Hoodlums sneaked up in the dark and smashed the large front plate-glass window of our office. . . . This scoundrelly, low-down cowardly and yellow crime is the direct results AND THE SPIRITUAL FRUIT of the smear campaign carried on by the little editor of the Dalton **News & Citizen.** [The vandals] ran like suck-egg dogs caught breaking up an old hen's nest. For some of our people almost caught them. We are offering a $500 reward and when they are caught we believe we'll find a line hooked onto bigger fish."

The campaign of the **News** against West was accompanied by demands for a grand jury investigation; a page one editorial in the Oct. 2 issue said:

> "Let them decide whether we have attempted to smear West for the sake of a smear campaign, or whether we have had bona fide records to present to the public."

FRAME-UP AHEAD? This month a grand jury has been directed by a judge to investigate "rumors of subversive activities." He cited the fire-cracker incident and one or two others, made no mention of the violence against **The Sutherner**'s office. Last week West wrote to New York friends:

> ". . . they've been raving about labor unions and violence and hinting that I had something to do with it. Wouldn't be surprised at a frame-up effort."

Magnificent obsession

"DANGER to the equilibrium can come from either right or left. But in the intellectual climate of today, among the articulate and powerful molders of American thought and action, I think the clear and present danger is from the left. It is more subtly pernicious than the Communist conspiracy. It is that frightened and frantic pursuit of freedom alone and at all costs—today's obsessive liberalism."

Very Rev. J. McGinley, president of Fordham Univ., at the Red Mass of N.Y. Guild of Catholic Lawyers, 10/1.

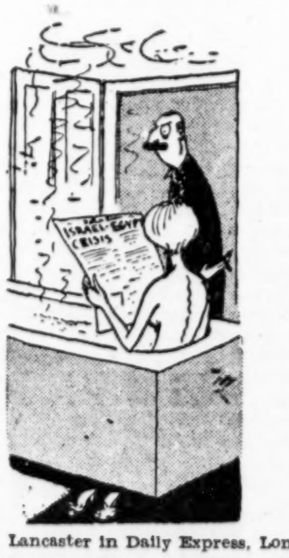
Lookin' for a little fun? Stay outa China, George

MR. YOKATA said it was the "unanimous conclusion" of the newspaper group that the Communists would "reach their goals" in China through their rigid discipline and drive.

"But there is no more fun left in China," he added. Gambling and prostitution, as well as the ancient institutions of concubines and mistresses, have been abolished as "anti-revolutionary."

"You can never speak of a woman any more," he observed. "She is now called comrade."

—From a N.Y. Times report (10/4) of a Japanese newspaper editors' visit to China.



Lancaster in Daily Express, London

"Here's the paper if you want it, darling, but I warn you, as far as this is concerned you'll do just as well with the Old Testament!"

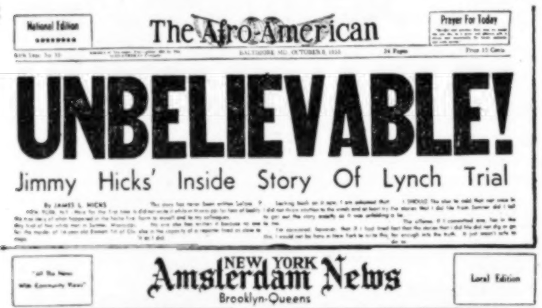
"I HAVE REACHED THE POINT OF NO RETURN"

A Negro's lot in Mississippi—by one who's going to stay

Dr. Theodore Roosevelt Howard heads both the NAACP and a hospital in the all-Negro town of Mound Bayou in what he calls the "Iron Curtain state of Mississippi." Mrs. Mamie Bradley, mother of 14-year-old lynch victim Emmett Louis Till, lived with Dr. and Mrs. Howard when she was called to testify in the trial at Sumner, Miss. Negro reporters, making the Howard home their headquarters, credited him with producing local Negro witnesses against lynch-suspects Roy Bryant and J. W. Milam, white half-brothers who admitted kidnapping Emmett from his Uncle Mose Wright's home the night of Aug. 28, but denied killing him. The Chicago boy allegedly had whistled at Bryant's wife. Principal speaker before 2,500 at a Baltimore NAACP rally Sept. 25, Dr. Howard cited eyewitnesses' accounts of Emmett's abduction and murder. The speech filled a solid page in the Baltimore Afro-American *(10/8). These excerpts deal mainly with Mississippi's political treatment of Negroes.*

THE REASON that there is so much disturbance in Mississippi today is that the colored people in Mississippi have decided that we don't want to wait until we get to Heaven to walk where we please. We want to do it right here in this present world.

We have decided, in Mississippi, that we are tired of dying for something on Heartbreak Ridge in Korea that we can't vote for in Belzoni, Miss.

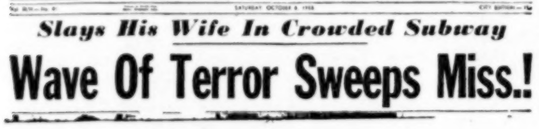

National Edition

The Afro-American

Prayer For Today

UNBELIEVABLE!

Jimmy Hicks' Inside Story Of Lynch Trial


"All The News With Community Views"

NEW YORK Amsterdam News

Brooklyn-Queens

Local Edition

Slays His Wife In Crowded Subway

Wave Of Terror Sweeps Miss.!

Up to this point, we have only about 25,000 colored registered voters in the state of Mississippi. They are fearful that, as the colored citizens have been aroused during the past three or four years, they must tighten the restrictions on voting lest Mississippi might be sending a colored representative to Congress.

These are the things that colored people have to do in order to register to vote in Mississippi:

They must go before the circuit court clerk.

The circuit court clerk picks out a portion of the Mississippi constitution and asks the individual to read it.

He must pronounce every word correctly. A grade of 99 will not pass him to vote. He must make 100.

If he reads the passage well, then the clerk may ask him to spell any word in it.

After doing that, the individual is passed a sheet of paper and asked to write an essay on "What is meant by a constitutional form of government."

The lawyers present this afternoon will agree with me that even a lawyer might flunk such a test.

FIRST OF ALL, any colored person who says that he wants to vote or that he wants his children to go to a mixed school in Mississippi is to be classed as a "troublemaker."

If he works for white people, he is to be immediately fired.

If he lives in a house that doesn't belong to him and does belong to a white person, he is to be asked to move.

If he is a cotton farmer and has cotton that has to be ginned before he sells it, none of the gins in the community are to accept his cotton.

If he has notes at the bank where he is supposed to pay installments over a five-year period, that bank note is to be declared then "due" and he must pay in full or lose his property.

Such a colored person is not to borrow money at any of the banks or at any of the agencies in the community.

Now, I'm not telling you about conditions behind the iron curtain; I'm telling you what's happening to the colored citizen who desires to be a first class citizen in Mississippi, U. S. A., in this year of our Lord, 1955.

THEY HAVE CARRIED OUT those threats. Just a few days ago, I had a patient from Belzonia, the county seat, a county where the Rev. George W. Lee was killed. This fellow came to me and he said,

> "You know, Doctor, on my little 12-acre farm, I have picked 16 bales of cotton and I have them stored in an old house on the place. The only reason that I have it stored there is because in my county none of the gins will process my cotton.
>
> "You see, after the cotton is taken out of the field, the very first thing you want to do is to get it to a gin. The gin will send it to a federal compress and the federal compress will give a receipt for it, so that if anything happens to it, the federal compress is responsible and the individual is not responsible."

He said, "I'm fearful that somebody is going to set a match to that house and burn up the cotton that I have stored there." And then he said, "I'll lose my farm because I won't have money to meet my notes this month." I said to him, "Brother Tilghman, what's the trouble down there?" He said,

> "Well, you know, I registered two years ago to become a voter in Humphrey County and that's one of the 60 counties in Mississippi where colored people have not voted since the days of Reconstruction."

And he said each of those gin owners told him that if he would go to the courthouse and scratch his name off the registration list, they would process his cotton. But so long as he remained a registered voter of Humphrey County, there's not a gin in that county that would accept it.

AS I LOOKED INTO THE EYES of this man, a man about 50, and saw the tears streaming down his cheeks because he wanted to be a man in the United States of America and because he was being deprived of his constitutional rights, I was made to say:

> "Oh, God, how long will such a condition exist in these United States of America?"

But he had no other choice. He went the next morning and scratched his name off the list because he didn't want to lose the farm and the home that his father had worked and slaved for.

He had three children in school at Alcorn College in Mississippi. If he wanted those children to go to school, he had to strike his name off the list in order to get his cotton ginned in Belzoni, Miss.

These are some of the terrific trials that our people are having to undergo in Mississippi.

THERE ARE FOUR THINGS we must have in Mississippi to be prepared for an integrated society.

First we must have equality in education. We must not be satisfied until every child in America is privileged to go to the same school and receive the same type of education. In Mississippi, they're still saying that it will never happen here! I'm telling you, it will happen there!

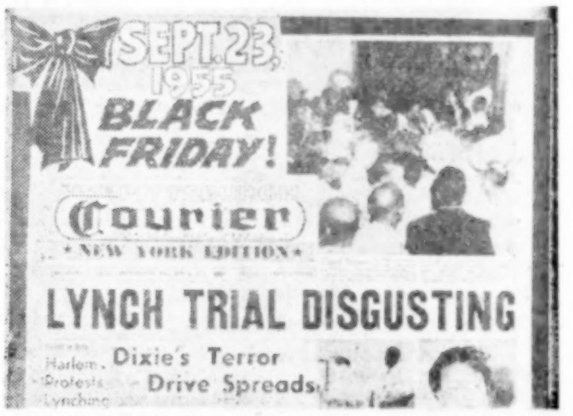
Secondly, we must have the unrestricted ballot. It is a shame on our American democracy that in Mississippi, where we have a million colored citizens, we have fewer than 25,000 qualified voters.

Thirdly, we must have money. The colored people in the South don't handle an awful lot of money. We must fight for fair employment at such wages we can keep some of them in our savings.

We must remember that while we are fighting to end segregation, we're not fighting to lose our identity as people.

I WISH TO CHALLENGE the great church of America this afternoon to a new crusade. For 92 years now, the average preacher has kept his people's minds on the long, white robes, the golden slippers, the mansions in the sky and the diet of milk and honey.

The psychological effect of this type of preaching has been that the people are content to spend their time here living in a cabin, poorly clothed and poorly fed, satisfied with any and all types of treatment, ever looking forward to the golden slippers, the long white robes and milk and honey and the mansions in the sky.


SEPT. 23, 1955 BLACK FRIDAY!

Courier

NEW YORK EDITION

LYNCH TRIAL DISGUSTING

Harlem Protests Lynching

Dixie's Terror Drive Spreads

While the Kingdom of Heaven must be made as realistic as possible today, the minister must tell his people that there is something for him to do while he is waiting for his wing measurements.

Finally, we must have the religion of Jesus Christ in an integrated society. Religion and democracy have been co-operating forces in American life. Thomas Jefferson wrote into the Declaration of Independence that "all men are created equal and are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights." This democratic statement was a religious affirmation and an acknowledgment of God as Creator.

ARMED WITH THE CONSTITUTION of the United States of America, armed with the decision of the Supreme Court, with the NAACP standing behind me and with God dictating my every move, I shall stay in Mississippi.

I have reached the point of no return.

I must stay in Mississippi and fight until the fires of Theodore G. Bilbo shall know that the time has come, in God's own way, when all second class citizenship shall be done away with within these United States of America.

Something is wrong . . .

IT'S GETTING TO BE a strange thing that nothing happens when colored people are murdered in the South.

The Federal Bureau of Investigation, with all of its knowledge, with all its power, can never work out who the killer is when colored people are murdered in the South.

Something is wrong somewhere, and I believe that there is enough wrong that the President, the Attorney General and J. Edgar Hoover himself must be called into a conference to see why Southrn investigators of the department can never solve the crime when there's a black man involved.

—**Dr. T. R. Howard**

The Washington Post and the Sacred Cow: J. Edgar Hoover goes to the woodshed for once

A WASHINGTON **Post** editorial on Oct. 5 took vigorous exception to a speech made Oct. 3 by FBI director J. E. Hoover to the Intl. Assn. of Chiefs of Police in Philadelphia. In his speech Hoover attempted to depict all persons who attacked the government's secret informants system in political cases as communists or communist dupes. The editorial said:

> "A great many patriotic, intelligent and respected Americans have deplored the use of anonymous informers in the Federal security program. This is a conspicuous fact which Mr. Hoover ignored in his speech.
>
> "He indulged in a gross distortion when he said that criticism of what he prefers to call 'confidential informants' is 'part and parcel of Communist strategy,' that it has 'for the most part . . . been devised by Communist lawyers' and that it is spread by 'pseudo liberals' enlisted by Communists 'to convey propaganda designed to discredit truth.'
>
> "That kind of argument by epithet and invective is pecularily unbecoming to a law enforcement officer and puts a stain on Mr. Hoover's otherwise exemplary record of public service. It is time he learned that critics are not necessarily Communists."

THE NEW ELEMENT: The **Post** editorial conceded that secret informants are nothing new in police work, but added: "There is something very new indeed, however, about having such informants extolled and accorded indiscriminate credence." It went on:

> "Mr. Hoover quite misunderstands the situation. If there is a campaign at all in this connection, it is directed toward requiring informants, on the basis of whose accusations American citizens may be condemned, to come forward and face the persons they accuse and submit to the test of cross-examination. Cross-examination has been called, and rightly, the greatest legal engine ever invented for the discovery of truth."

The editorial pointed to Harvey Matusow as one informer of highly dubious repute and said:

> "Most of the FBI's informers are, no doubt, more reliable. But their charges ought to be accepted only if they can be corroborated or if they can withstand the tests which American justice has devised for the protection of accused persons."

READERS FORUM ON PETRAN SERIES

'The facts about the American economy'

The GUARDIAN this week prints the second group of letters on Tabitha Petran's five-part series entitled "The Facts About the American Economy." The series appeared in the five August issues. A first group of letters was printed Sept. 19. All views are invited.

Saving grace

SAUGUS, MASS.

Blessings on Donald Stevens of San Francisco for saying that socialists should organize a Socialist Party. Labor may not make a Labor Party socialist, true, but there is no excuse for forming another "progressive" party based on liberal capitalist views. That is the function of the trade unions. Our function is to help the trade unions move left.

Blessings on Tabitha Petran. I am a great admirer of her brilliant logic. I have done all my religious work in the field of economic analysis and religion.

As to the coming economic decline, the present ratio of debts to savings indicates to me that it is about three years away. In 1929, before the crash, debts were 85c per $1 of long-term savings; in 1945 the ratio was down to 25c per $1 of savings. The 1955 ratio is 54c of debts per savings dollar. Other figures will show that savings are still a little high to expect the end sooner than 1958.

(Rev.) Hugh Weston

Labor's Daily, W. Va.

"Well, if you can't give me a raise, how about the same pay oftener?"

Dissent from Harvard

CAMBRIDGE, MASS.

You are not altogether correct in maintaining that an economic depression cannot be "delayed." Strangely enough, you admit yourself that the present so-called economic boom may well continue for a year or so.

Now if [postponement] measures (particularly military and war expenditures) can keep the present economic boom going for a year or so (or even longer), is this not tantamount to "delaying (but not "preventing") an economic depression?

The theory behind the policies on the part of the American capitalist class and its government in Washington towards the "control" of the business cycle—with the ultimate goal of preventing an economic depression—stems from the economic writings of John Maynard Keynes. Keynes believed that economic crisis under capitalism could be prevented, or at least controlled, by government intervention in the operation of the economic system. This, according to Keynes, should take the form of enhanced government spending for the purpose of maintaining full employment and thus a consumption capacity adequate to absorb the phenomenal productive output of the capitalist system. Such expenditures could either be of a welfare nature (e.g., housing, schools, public works of all sorts, etc.), or of a military nature.

There are basically two schools of thought within the general theory of Keynesism: those who maintain that the business cycle should and can be controlled by welfare measures, and those who emphasize and support military expenditures as the means to this end. It was the former school that the whole American progressive movement supported during the 1930's and the latter school that this movement is fighting tooth-and-nail today. The progressive movement (particularly the theoretically advanced elements within it) supported the Roosevelt administration's policies not because it believed—as did Roosevelt and his economic advisers—that these policies would "prevent" an ultimate economic crisis, but rather because these were the only policies which at that time were practical for ending the depressive state of the American economy and for increasing the living standards of the American people. Moreover, these are the same measures and policies which the American progressive movement is supporting today—not because it believes that an economic crisis can be prevented, but because such measures operate, in the long-run, in the interest of the American people.

In struggling along with the American people in their fight to obtain greater welfare measures from their government, we are creating a situation in which the social and political consciousness of the American people cannot help but increase. In the course of their struggle for greater welfare measures from their government, the American people, I believe, will become increasingly conscious of the fact that there are more or less defined limits to which a government which is in the main controlled by the capitalist class can go in supplying these measures for them, and thus will eventually recognize the true class basis of that government.

This—in addition to the fact that struggling for welfare measures will increase the present material standards of the American people, which in turn will tend to lessen the blow of a depression when it does come—is the significance of recognizing the possibility of "delaying" an economic depression. Miss Petran seems to have missed this point altogether, for I can find no reference to it at all in her five articles.

Quoting Mary Norris' article in the June, 1955, issue of **Political Affairs,** Miss Petran clearly gave the impression, on the basis of the quotation used, that Miss Norris and her associates—namely the Communist Party—maintain that an economic crisis can be prevented. I happen not to be the only person who felt that this gave a misimpression of Miss Norris' position on the question of economic crisis. My concern with this point is first of a scholastic nature and secondly of a practical nature. There have been enough differences within the ranks of the American progressive movement as a whole, and to give rise to further differences when no fundamental reason exists for them is a mistake. I feel that your misrepresentation of Mary Norris' position—and thus the position of the Communist Party—on the question of the prevention of economic crisis might very well do just this. If there is a fundamental difference on this question, then it should be aired—openly and frankly. But in this case there was none.

It may be said in all fairness to Miss Petran that Mary Norris might have worded her sentence differently, for her use of the word "avoided" does tend to give the impression presented in Miss Petran's article of Aug. 1, 1955. Yet a complete reading of her article makes it clear beyond doubt that she does not mean this. I feel that you were obligated to make reference to the whole context of Mary Norris' analysis of this question, rather than to an isolated sentence.

A Graduate Student

Some of the issues raised in this letter (here considerably abbreviated) will be discussed in a future article. The charge of misrepresentation of the Communist Party position suggests the reader has failed to follow the GUARDIAN analysis, which showed that the "program to delay a depression" is in contradiction with the Marxist theory of the inevitability of crisis. Political Affairs articles, in general, and this one in particular, do assert the inevitability of crisis and frequently attack Keynesism, but then come to the defense of the program "to delay a depression," which is itself Keynesian. There is no logical connection between the two positions.

The Norris quotation used by the GUARDIAN was: "If war or economic crisis is to be avoided, it is necessary to compel a major change in the policies of the Eisenhower Administration." The clear implication is that crisis can be avoided. That the implication is not accidental is apparent from many articles defending the program of "delaying depression," including one by the same author a month earlier (May, 1955), in which this perspective is spelled out.

—T. P.

LPP explains

TORONTO, ONT.

I am somewhat surprised to see a letter published in your issue of Sept. 19 from one Joyce Clark, dealing with matters affecting Canada, the Labor-Progressive Party and its program.

The writer claims that her efforts to obtain answers to questions she raised in connection with the program of the Labor-Progressive Party led to her expulsion from that party.

She was not expelled because of differences of opinion or her seeking answers to questions. She was expelled after being found guilty of "conducting a disruptive and factional campaign against the Party Program and other decisions of the 5th National Convention."

Harry Hunter
Regional Organizer
Toronto and Yorks LPP

'Brilliant, much-needed'

SAN FRANCISCO, CALIF.

Many thanks to T. Petran and the GUARDIAN for her brilliant, much needed series of articles. They made me realize how barren of theory and deep analysis our political outlook has been for a long time. We seem to have forgotten—as others forgot before us in the '20s—that even in America capitalism follows an historical pattern of self-destruction and anarchy. To blind ourselves to reality is to participate in the crime.

My sincere hope is that your articles will open up a real discussion which will help set the thought process in action once more. We who live and work in America, and ought to understand our land, bear the responsibility for what happens here. But we can only begin to map out a program if we speak up, argue and fight in a principled fashion — turn from superficial "campaign" politics to historical realities and necessities. Socialism, for instance. And before that many other things—jobs, civil liberties, the maintenance and further organization of honest, militant unions.

It is hard to believe that any honest progressive could oppose coming together to establish an organization for cooperation, communication, and mutual assistance in the all important task of laying the ground work for a third party. If anyone thinks that the New Deal coalition with all its weaknesses (and God knows they were self-destroying too) came into being by supporting the Democratic Party they don't know the history of the '30s. Plenty of angry, very independent political action preceded the New Deal. There were great strikes in all major industries resulting in strong labor unions. It was perhaps the tragedy of the era that labor's political expression became channeled into the Democratic Party. An independent political party with such a base not only might have kept the militant labor union movement alive but might well have prevented the disintegration of the New Deal coalition. Even now a real effort to build a third party might well contribute to the revival of a real labor movement. And certainly, as you point out, that does not mean refusal to work in Democratic, Republican or any other organizations where the people are.

One thing more. It was a pleasure to read deep-going articles so thoroughly documented and with never a cliche. Congratulations.

M. E. Murphy

Toward socialism

PORTLAND, ORE.

Tabitha Petran's excellent series on America's economy should encourage a re-valuation of progressive thinking, especially concerning the problem of the advocacy of socialism.

The failure to advocate socialism is more than a harmless omission: it allows errors in analysis and creates illusions as to the nature of capitalism. For example: the constant call for peaceful co-existence, without pointing out that capitalism's economic difficulties force it to break up friendliness between the U.S. and the U.S.S.R., tends to create the illusion that capitalism could somehow go on indefinitely if this wise decision were only made. As if some kind of perversity, moral or intellectual, will not allow capitalists to make this reasonable decision.

BLAME FOR CROP PRICES
BLAME FOR CROP PRICES

Milwaukee Journal

A couple of real dirt farmers.

They are doing what they consider reasonable, they are trying to prolong a moribund economic system in the most effective manner. Let us not help them by failing to point out that socialism is the people's solution.

B. P.

STOCK MARKET
U.N.
EISENHOWER
RUSSIA

Herblock in Washington Post

"OH, STOP IT!"

Dialogue

MILL VALLEY, CALIF.

I asked a San Francisco union official his opinion of your series.

"Expert analysis," he replied. "We're headed for depression or war, or both."

"What about the political conclusions?" I asked.

"Oh, well," he shrugged, "I just don't see any mass base for third party now."

Here, of course, is a typical example of the mental block being built into U.S. labor. Our friend was unable to consider what you actually said. By conditioned reflex he blandly and "realistically" knocked down what you had **not** said.

You repeated, more carefully than ever, that we recognize the lack of a now-awake mass base, but fear all the more that, unless the new leadership party **is** quickly given visible organization in advance, then the mass base, stirred into motion by onrushing events, may be sacrificed by misleadership into fascist horror.

And why was our friend so unable to absorb your clear words? Because of the blindspot of economism and opportunism.

Let us beg each GUARDIAN friend to re-read what you **do** say in the Aug. 29 issue. On pain of terrible consequences it is our duty to start the new, left-wing party now.

B. N. Buck

Deadline for action

SAN MATEO, CALIF.

The letter signed by Donald Stevens raises a vital problem—who will speak for socialism in our country and when will they begin to hammer away at it in a daily fashion? Personally, I do not believe this is the role of a third (labor) party—anyhow, not until the labor movement becomes more conscious of being the victim under this setup. But someone surely has to do it in an organized fashion, going deeply into what socialism would mean to America, how it would enable her to realize her wonderful potentialities, how it would work in every industry and region as well as nationally.

As for depressions, I find it hard to see how anyone can seriously challenge Miss Petran on her analysis. In the current "boom" it is true that jobs are temporarily plentiful, but inflation and taxes take the joy out of every pay check. On this peninsula below San Francisco, paper houses are selling for $20,000 upwards. Salaried men who used to go to lunch with colleagues all now carry their little paper bags with sandwiches. The building trades "boom" here already is beginning to wither. Its workers face the winter as desperately as ever. Transportation is at an all-time high in inefficiency and cost to consumers. Even the much-touted new appliances are shoddily manufactured of inferior materials.

Ah, it's a fine prosperity. The curious thing is that almost everyone you speak to seems to understand that it won't last, even at that. When you think of how over-ripe we are for socialism, how we're all set up for it industrially, our national political backwardness becomes more shameful. Those of us who know a little about the economy and historical forces bear a heavy blame for our silence, for having permitted our interests and energies to be taken up in superficial matters.

One more thing. The San Antonio contributor mentioned that "people generally, and I emphatically include progressives, are more stimulated by the immediacy of any situation than by an extensive long-range program." That's one for the book on "tactics of opportunism." If the Chinese had felt like that, or the Russians, or any of the other people who have climbed out of the mire onto solid ground for social advance, it would be a sorrier world today.

As for Miss Petran's articles being "defeatist," my own reaction is just the contrary. They made me feel like studying history and plunging into some meaningful action while there still is time.

R. F.

The great exception?

NEW YORK, N. Y.

It is ironical to see a correct estimation of American economy come, not from the pens of the political Left, but from that of Tabitha Petran. It will explain why the reactionaries of this country can and do to a great extent successfully put all kinds of vicious tags upon the political Left and get away with it. To the American people, the political Left has long since lost its identity. True, it has sponsored many progressive causes and led many immediate struggles of the people. But its reformist demands soon displaced its political program. Without a long-range program, or rather without pronouncing its long-range program, it became obscure in the sea of reformism. Because of this failure to lead the immediate struggles on the one hand, while always holding out a basic program for all to see on the other, the American people lost a clear image of the Left, which was thus rendered susceptible to all kinds of slanders and attacks.

Many of us seem to have lost faith in the American people by attributing to them the quality of sheep, who are aroused only when they were either hungry or being led to their slaughter. Thus, the thesis that "people generally are more stimulated by the immediacy of any immediate situation than by an extensive long-range program." Starting from this premise, we come to the conclusion that either we spur them on to temporarily "avert" war and depression, or else they will just quit fighting. Why should there be only these two alternatives? What about the alternative of socialism? Why can not the people be told that while we must fight to avert depression and war, with the qualification that this is not always possible (remember the Korean war?), the ultimate solution to end depression and war is socialism?

Some progressives may find it convenient to align themselves with those who are less or not at all stimulated by an extensive long-range program, out of opportunism, demoralization or defeatism. But why subject the American people to the same frame of mind? Why force them into complete demoralization by leading them from one cycle of depression and war to another, from supporting one set of capitalistic reform program to another, and never let them have a genuine solution in sight?

It saddens me no end to witness a group of Left progressives coming out with the blatant statement that "the man who believes he is fighting a lost cause simply does not fight." Look around the world, please. Is the fight for socialism a "lost cause"? Does any one of us progressives believe that it is a lost cause? Are we to assume that the American people as a whole, believe that socialism is a "lost cause"? Assuming so, and assuming that we still have the faith and integrity, is it not evident then that we should redouble our efforts to correct this misconception of the people? Or should we trade this important and undoubtedly difficult task for a few "occasional victories"? We have won during the last two decades, many such victories, and yet we feel now that the fight for socialism is a "lost cause." What brought this about?

Can it be that we have believed that socialism is only for those countries which are economically backward and industrially undeveloped, which lack the financial reserve power and economic know-how to "avert" depression and war, and not for us, the great exception? If not, then why do some progressives call Petran's articles unrealistic and harmful? Unrealistic to what? Harmful to whom?

M. [illegible] C.

the SPECTATOR

Maple Leaf Forever

THERE ARE NO PRIZES in this quiz—not even 64 super-jet chrome-plated toothpicks—but do we ever stop to think how much (meaning how little) we know about Canada? In support of this question, your questioner has devised, with some help from an almanac, an elementary questionnaire about our good neighbor to the north. Only residents south of the border are eligible. If you score 60 to 80% you're more Canada-conscious than most of your fellow-Middle Americans. Ready?

1. The population of Canada is (a) 41,000,000; (b) 15,000,000; (c) 28,000,000.
2. What is its capital city?
3. What is the name of the Prime Minister?
4. Name 5 of the 10 provinces of Canada.
5. Canada in area is (a) bigger; (b) smaller than continental United States.

You will find the answers by turning this paper upside down and reading the bottom of this column. Then hurry back, because it's important.

THE PEOPLE OF CANADA: What is important is that a new novel about Canada has recently been published which goes into something far more vital than these surface facts: the people of Canada. The book is **Fatherless Sons*** and the author is Dyson Carter, research scientist, radio writer, newspaper correspondent, socialist. He is best-known in this country for his **Sin and Science** (1944, and many editions and languages since), which tells in eminently readable fashion how the first socialist country in the world tackled and solved the problems of prostitution, venereal disease, alcoholism and juvenile delinquency.

DYSON CARTER
A passion for life

In this novel Carter takes up another problem: what happens to the sons of fathers killed in war. It is a passionate novel filled to the brim (and sometimes to the overflowing) with the love of living. He bases his book in the nickel mining city of "Deep Rock" in northern Ontario, and the militant mine union, but he roams the breadth of Canada, from the cities and the plains of the east, through the prairies of the north and the great forests and the fisheries of the far west. In all of his roaming there is a lusty pride and vigor which is infectious. One of his wanderers says:

> "I've been all over the world, Nelson, and this is what nobody understands about Canada . . . we built everything, almost in one lifetime! Look over this city. People casually say Vancouver is young! But you try to tell a European that sixty years ago there was nothing more than a sawmill here. And not another city in the whole province. And nothing, absolutely nothing, for three thousand miles between here and the center of Ontario! . . ."

THE BATTLE WITH THE MINE: In Deep Rock, there is Dave Nelson, a fatherless son, and Irene Nelson, with two fatherless children; the Indian Johnny Hawke and the gnarled old communist Dan Grant; the French miner Denis Langevin and Mary Skene, the minister's wife, who knows that Love is not Charity. All of them, struggling with the mine, the stinking, hot, dangerous, noisy, crippling mine that didn't have to be any of these things—at least not so much. All of them on the one side, and the profit-takers and the lackey politicians on the other—and their American directorate.

Here are a series of pulsing vignettes, sparkling in their descriptive story telling. Carter knows his Canada and he wants us to know it: the good and the bad, but mostly the hope and the promise. It's unrestrained and free-wheeling and almost journalistic in its realism.

Perhaps that's why it's not quite successful. If Carter had narrowed his canvas and given his leading characters a dimension beyond their presence in the book, it would have been a better novel. If, in his admirable approach to realism, he had let us know more deeply what helped to shape his people, the circle would have come full.

THE U.S. AMERICANS: Especially is there a lack of depth in his acid picture of U.S. Americans. The truths are there; but it is not enough to offer them with caricatures instead of characters.

The reservations done with, there must be a return to first things: this is a grand book which brings Canada to life and enhances the stature of the chronicler of the country and the people he loves best.

—James Aronson

**FATHERLESS SONS, by Dyson Carter. Order from News-Facts, 753 Bathurst St., Toronto 4, Canada.* 480 *pp.* $2.50, *paper;* $4.75 *cloth.*

ANSWERS TO QUIZ: 1. Population is 15,000,000 (1954 est.). 2. Ottawa. 3. Louis St. Laurent. 4. The ten provinces are Newfoundland, Prince Edward Island, Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, Quebec, Ontario, Manitoba, Saskatchewan, Alberta, British Columbia. 5. Canada is bigger: 3,845,744 sq. mi.; continental U.S. has 2,977,128.

"THE WIDE PLAINS ROAR"

George Abbe's verses

By Annette Rubinstein

ALTHOUGH there are many powerful poems of protest in his book, and some less completely successful ones of prophecy, yet George Abbe's title does not really do justice to this very varied and moving collection of verses. From the gentle opening lines of "twilight talk"

When mountain air is lambent
like far shores,
and furtive-sweet as southernwood and lemon-balm,
. . . the pigeons that live in cornices stir, dreamy-chilled,
and bend their ruffled necks to marvel
at the warm words kindling below.

from these very first lines in the book we feel, stronger than either protest or prophecy, the author's warm and living love.

AS IN DANTE: It is his awareness of the beauty of the earth, and the beauty in man's flesh and spirit, that make meaningful his hatred for those who would destroy both. As in the poetry of Dante who "loved well because he hated, hated wickedness that hinders loving," this emotion here takes many forms. Sometimes it appears in such angry sarcasm as that of "possessor's pity," "illustrations for life" or "popular model."

At other and perhaps more deeply significant moments it finds its expression in the unsentimental pity of a poem like "street car motorman":

I'm like the lonely, loud-mouthed kids crowding me after school:
No one gives a damn if I pass the course or flunk . . .
Spitballs flying, whacking each other with books;
nervous; eyes nervous and frightened; blustering, afraid.

SYMPATHETIC REPORTER: Again it illuminates a wider segment of experience by a similar combination of keen observation and sympathetic insight in a poem like "war scare: subtle conqueror," which begins with:

. . . drunks lying
with morning papers over eyes,
in parks for the no-longer-trying,
too tired to read how they must die.

APPEAL AND WARNING: More rarely the author's informed emotion rings out in a just not-quite-hopeless appeal and warning, like that of "academic freedom denied":

What memory will lift the scholar's head?
Brave teacher, teach that boldness is not dead.

• • •

Greeley and Whitman, Paine
and angry Shelley.
Yes, it is time again; and if you seek
to husband strength that you may later rally,
then in that fatal hour, your hands will be too weak.

This volume deserves a far more thorough consideration than our space here will permit. If there were room for such treatment it would, I think, be important to analyze in some detail the comparative weakness of the last poems in the section "Today: Tomorrow" and "Vision of America," as well as the effectiveness of most of the other material which has been so briefly referred to above.

DIRECT AND CLEAR: But perhaps even these meager excerpts have indicated that George Abbe is a serious poet who is no more content with one mode of expression than with one aspect of experience. The book is, therefore, interesting for its intelligent experimental approach to form as well as content. Free verse, rhymed quatrain, barbed heroic couplet, succeed each other on page after page, and even the least fully realized of these poems is vital and provocative. Few poets in our troubled times have succeeded in finding so direct and clear a voice.

THE WIDE PLAINS ROAR, Verses of Protest and Prophecy, by George Abbe. Published by World Fellowship Inc., Conway, N.H. 68 pp. $1.35

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Indonesia votes

(Continued from Page 1)

loting paper, (size of a newspaper page) carried 190 symbols representing large and small political parties, trade unions and other organizations, and scores of individual candidates. In the polling booth the voter punched a hole through the symbol of the candidate he chose.

COME ON, BROTHERS: The government campaigned for two years to educate the public in voting methods. Posters bearing party symbols and government exhortations on the importance of voting were plastered all over the country. The government told the largely peasant population:

> "The eyes of the world are watching us carry out our first election. Let us vote . . . with pride and with enthusiasm, behaving at the polls as people who love peace."

One of the most popular pre-election songs said:

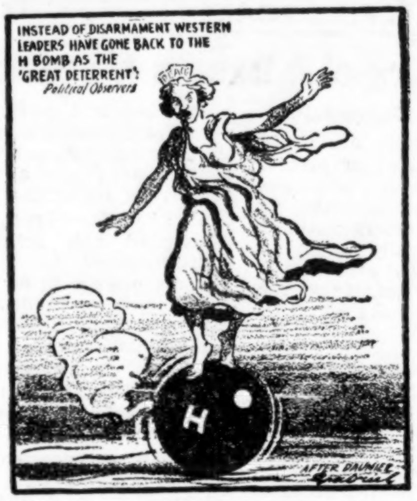
Let us all go to the elections
Come on, brothers, come on.
Let us all go and vote, brothers.
Truly powerful is your vote,
It builds the base of a respected state.

Candidates had to campaign from town to town across jungles and rivers. However, an election official told **N. Y. Times'** Robert Alden (9/21):

> "Everyone knows that something new and important is about to happen in the country."

ROLE OF THE ARMY: There were other difficulties besides primitive conditions facing the young nation before its first country-wide elections.

Premier Sastroamidjojo's popular cabinet was ousted by the opposition Masjumi—with the support of the army—last summer. The crisis was ostensibly precipitated by the refusal of the Army chief of staff and his aides to accept the appointment of a new chief of staff by Sastroamidjojo. The Masjumi came to power about 9 weeks before the elections. The change did not affect President Soekarno, who is not officially tied to any party.


INSTEAD OF DISARMAMENT WESTERN LEADERS HAVE GONE BACK TO THE H BOMB AS THE 'GREAT DETERRENT': Political Observers
PEACE
H
AFTER DAUMIER
Gabriel

Drawing by Gabriel, London

Indonesia's economy remains chaotic. Planned development, based on inflated export prices, had to be drastically modified when the Korean war boom collapsed. The Dutch are reported still to have a $2½ billion investment; Indonesian stock prices on the Amsterdam market, which had soared in the expectation of a Masjumi party sweep, fell sharply after the vote. Standard-Vacuum and Caltex also have large investments in Indonesia; U. S. interest in Indonesia is measured by the fact that these two concerns plan to invest $80 million and $60 million more, respectively, in the next four years.

Another difficulty was the continuing rebellion in the S. Moluccas and Celebes, which the Sastroamidjojo government has accused the Dutch of fomenting. In the past the Dutch had used the Amboinese of S. Moluccas as shock troops against the people, much as the British in India used the Gurkhas of Nepal in their army. The Moluccas are adjacent to the disputed territory of W. Irian (see **GUARDIAN, 10/10**) still under Dutch control.

DUTCH MONEY: The Christian Science Monitor reported (1/13) that some pro-Dutch Amboinese, who had fled to the Netherlands after Indonesia became free, had been raising funds with the support of

> ". . . right-wing Dutch elements of strong jingo strain. [These] have paid for the clandestine shipment of supplies to the remnant rebels in the Moluccas."

Robert Alden reported (**NYT, 5/17**) that the Dutch have not only "given moral support" to the rebels, but that a club in the Netherlands called "Loyal Through the Centuries" had been supporting them. At present several Dutch nationals are on trial for helping rebels in Indonesia.

The Western powers have been openly irked by the neutralist policy of the Sastroamidjojo government. When the religiously-inclined Moslem Masjumi came to power in a country where 95% of the people are Moslems, it immediately "won the approval of the Western diplomatic community" in Indonesia (**NYT, 8/21**). The Western press freely predicted a sweeping victory for the Masjumi in the national elections. But the results belied the prediction. A **N. Y. Herald Tribune** editorial (10/6) said:

> "It is painfully apparent that the pro-Western Masjumi (Moslem) party is trailing badly. The neutralist Nationalists, for whom little chance of victory had been held out, have taken what looks like an unbeatable lead. The Communists are running strongly. Even the Moslem Orthodox Radicals, who broke away from the Masjumi in opposition to that party's pro-Western policy, have been doing better than their parent body."

NOTABLE RESULT: To the **NYHT** the results meant that "democratic freedom is more feared in Indonesia than Communist tyranny." But the Washington **Post** (10/6), equally disturbed by the fact that "contrary to most predictions, the Moslem Masjumi party, now dominating the caretaker government . . . is running a poor fourth," said:

> ". . . nevertheless, the mere holding of what appears to have been a free election in a widely scattered archipelago of 80 million people, many of them illiterate, represents a formidable achievement."

Some disturbing factors remained. The Masjumi caretaker government, which has conceded it has no hope of getting a working majority, has ordered three million Javanese to vote a second time because of unspecified "irregularities and illegal activities" (**AP, 10/6**). The Army's role also remains uncertain. Its officers barred public pre-election speeches by Soekarno; some of them have likened their activities to the military junta in Egypt (**NYT, 7/31**).

It is clear, however, that Indonesians by their vote have shown a decided preference for the peaceful co-existence policy followed by the Sastroamidjojo government.

• • •

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CALENDAR

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CORRECTION

DR. C. F. HISKEY was incorrectly titled as "former head of B'klyn Polytechnical Institute." He is the former head of the Dept. of Analytical Chemistry of the B'klyn Polytechnical Institute. He will speak on Fri., Oct. 14, 8 p.m., at 863 B'way, under the auspices of The American Socialist.

Chicago

DR. W. E. B. DuBOIS will speak on **"GENEVA AND AFRICA"** at **PEACE AND FREEDOM RALLY,** Fri., Oct. 28, 8 p.m., at Midland Hotel, 172 W. Adams. Adm.: $1. Auspices: Committee to Further the Goals of Geneva.

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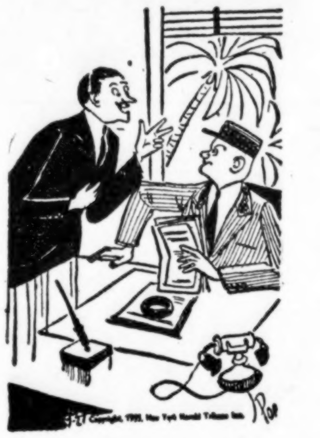
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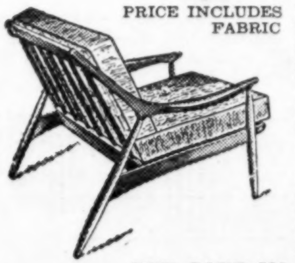

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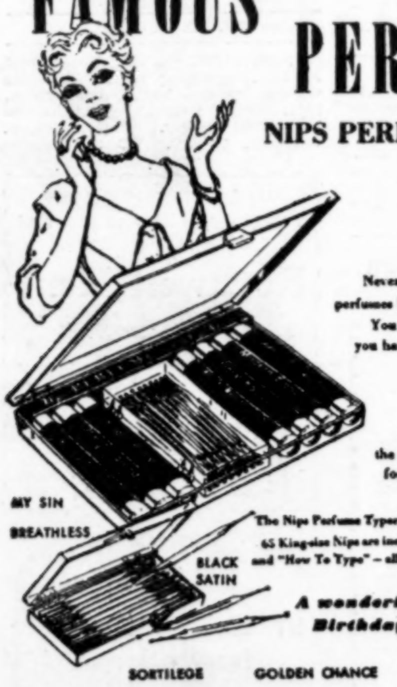

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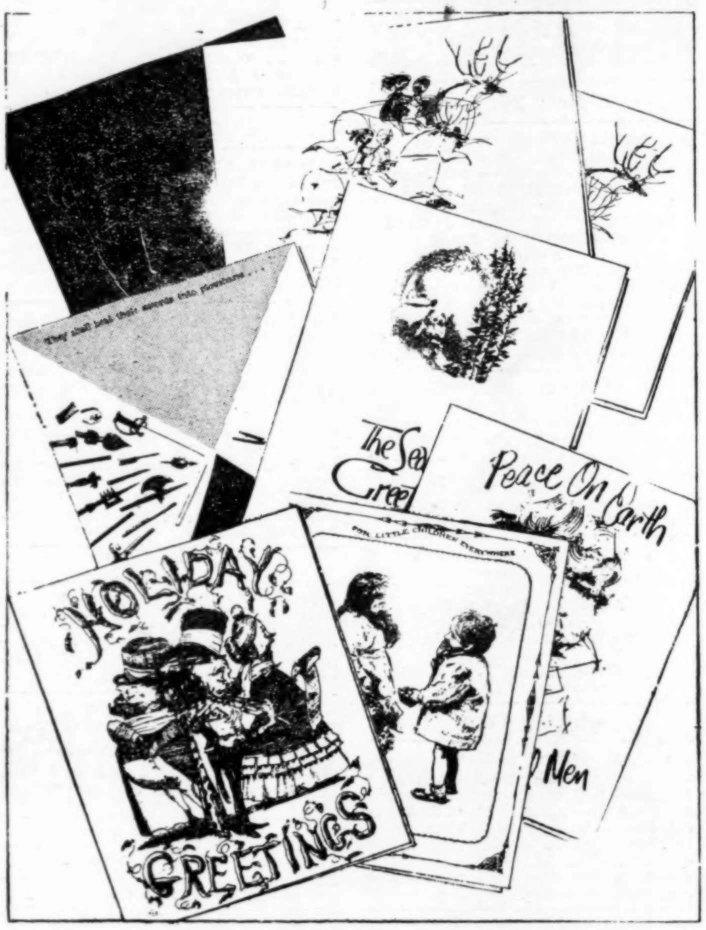

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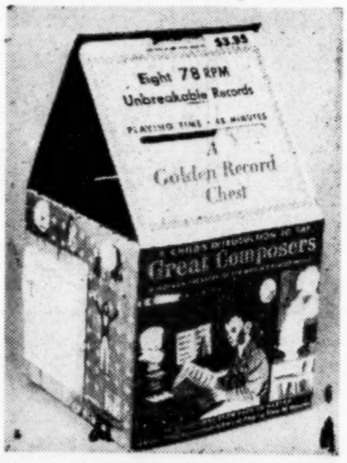

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